DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 384 921 CS 508 962

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TITLE The Oh No! Syndrome: A Language Expectation Model of Undergraduates' Negative Reactions toward Foreign Teaching Assistants.
PUB DATE May 95
NOTE 88p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association (45th, Albuquerque, NM, May 25-29, 1995). For a related paper, see ED 367 021.
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Classroom Communication; Communication Problems; Communication Research; Communication Skills; *Foreign Students; Higher Education; Intercultural Communication; *Student Attitudes; *Student Reaction; *Teacher Student Relationship; *Teaching Assistants; *Undergraduate Students
IDENTIFIERS Language Expectation Model

ABSTRACT

The "Oh No! Syndrome" represents the reactions of U.S. undergraduates towards a foreign teaching assistant (TA) when s/he walks into a class on the first day of a term. Since 1982, the Oh No! Syndrome has been studied as a "foreign TA language problem." Researchers have argued recently that U.S. undergraduates play an equally important role for the existence of the Oh No! Syndrome. A study offered and tested a part of the Language Expectation Model (LEM) to explore undergraduates' affective, cognitive, and behavioral responses when they interact with a foreign TA on the first day of class. The degree of accentedness and undergraduates' expectations of foreign TA's language skills were pretested. A total of 124 students from a large southwestern university participated. Results of the pretests indicated that foreign TAs with heavy accents were perceived as difficult to follow, and a foreign TA with an "American" accent was perceived as easy to understand. The main part of the study involved 330 students from 15 classrooms in the same university. Results indicated that when students' language expectations of foreign TAs were confirmed, they felt more angry and anxious, evaluated the foreign TA less favorably, and were more likely to drop a class taught by a foreign TA compared to when expectations were violated. Results also indicated that when expectations were violated, students with strong expectations had more positive evaluations of foreign TAs than students with weak expectations, in certain cases. (Contains 50 references, 11 tables, and 2 figures of data.) (Author/RS)

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The Oh No! Syndrome: A Language Expectation Model of Undergraduates' Negative Reactions Toward Foreign Teaching Assistants

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The Oh No! Syndrome: A Language Expectation Model of Undergraduates' Negative Reactions Toward Foreign Teaching Assistants

Abstract

The "Oh No! Syndrome" represents the reactions of U.S. undergraduates towards a foreign teaching assistant (TA) when s/he walks into class on the first day of a term. Since 1982, the Oh No! Syndrome has been studied as a "foreign TA language problem." Researchers have argued recently that U.S. undergraduates play an equally important role for the existence of the Oh No! Syndrome. This study offered and tested a part of the Language Expectation Model (LEM) to explore undergraduates' affective, cognitive, and behavioral responses when they interact with a foreign TA on the first day of class. Results indicated that when students' language expectations of foreign TAs were confirmed, they felt more angry and anxious, evaluated the foreign TA less favorably, and were more likely to drop a class taught by a foreign TA, than when expectations were violated. Interestingly, when expectations were violated, students with strong expectations had more positive evaluations of foreign TAs than students with weak expectations, in certain cases.

The Oh No! Syndrome: A Language Expectation Model of Undergraduates' Negative Reactions Toward Foreign Teaching Assistants

Sugmin is a fairy typical foreign teaching assistant (TA). He is from Taiwan working on his doctoral degree in chemistry in a fairly large U.S. university, and his only source of income is a teaching assistantship from his department. Sugmin is in charge of conducting lab sessions for a 200 level undergraduate chemistry class. On the first day of class, when Sugmin walks into class, there is a strong murmur of disapproval. Students exchange glances and fidget uneasily in their chairs. A few walk out of the class.

The reactions of these undergraduates can be summed up as, "Oh No! not another foreign teaching assistant!" This reaction is labelled as the "*Oh No! Syndrome*," and defined as the shared perception by undergraduate students that their teacher is unlike other teachers, and may have significant problems in speaking English. Foreign TAs, however, constitute an important part of the instructional faculty at many American universities (e.g., see Bailey, 1984, Bresnahan and Kim, 1991b). Several universities have a substantial number of foreign TAs teaching a majority of math and sciences courses (Rittenberg, 1992).

The Oh No! Syndrome is a significant and growing problem. While the number of foreign TAs appear to be increasing year after year (Rittenberg, 1992), there is a slow but increasing body of research indicating the hardened lack of receptivity to

foreign TAs by U.S. students (e.g., see Bresnahan & Kim, 1991b, Rubin & Smith, 1990, Wol-Young, 1989). This indicates a need to conduct more systematic research which helps us understand these negative perceptions of foreign TAs, and assists in designing programs for both undergraduates and foreign TAs to make their interactions within and outside the classroom more fruitful.

Research in the 1980's focused primarily on the foreign TAs' difficulties in speaking English, and on issues such as adjusting to the U.S. and to its class room culture (Bailey et al., 1984). Most of the research to date continues in the same vein with the assumption that the lack of language proficiency of foreign TAs is the primary cause of the Oh No! Syndrome. Consistent with this assumption, training programs were initiated in a number of universities to enhance foreign TAs' language skills.

It soon became apparent, however, that training foreign TAs alone would not suffice. A few researchers explained that undergraduates may have an equally important role in creating and maintaining the Oh No! Syndrome. For example, Bresnahan and Kim (1991a, 1991b) have investigated how personality traits (e.g., dogmatism, authoritarianism) play a significant role in influencing students' receptivity to foreign TAs. In addition, Rubin and Smith (1990) have shown that undergraduates perceive the foreign TAs' accents to be stronger than they are (based on standardized tests), and hence evaluate these TAs negatively. Thus, although the primary complaint of undergraduates is that they don't understand their foreign TAs undergraduate students

are turned off and tend to drop classes taught by foreign TAs (even when the accent is low to moderate). Aligned with this logic, there now are a few programs (e.g., Michigan State University's "Oh No! to O.k." program) assisting undergraduates in communicating more effectively with their foreign TAs (Rao, 1993).

Although there are many training programs for foreign TAs, and a few for undergraduates, theoretical foundations for these programs are still sparse. There is no research that directly explicates the Oh No! Syndrome, that is, research which explains the cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes of foreign TAs and undergraduates as they interact with each other in the classroom. Research to date often has been variable analytic in nature, and has offered limited conceptual understanding of this phenomenon. A model that explains the cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes of both undergraduates and foreign TAs will offer both theoretical focus and clearer direction for effective training programs.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to offer a **Language Expectation Model** that explores the cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes of undergraduates when they encounter their foreign TA in class for the first time. It is called a Language Expectation Model as it is believed that the language (vocabulary, grammar, etc,.) and para-language (accent, style, etc,.) used by the foreign TA triggers off the processes described in the model. This paper focuses only on the

undergraduates' perspective as there are a number of researchers studying this issue as a "foreign TA" problem (Briggs et al., 1990). Further, as a part of programmatic research in the future, this researcher hopes to study: (1) the cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes of foreign TAs, (2) the interaction between undergraduates and foreign TAs within the class room, and (3) how other aspects of the foreign TAs' and undergraduates' language (vocabulary, speech rate, etc.) influence undergraduates' evaluations of foreign TAs. The LEM approach has several advantages.

First, it will offer theoretical insights into the interaction between foreign instructors and their native students. Most studies so far have focused on only one or two of the processes; the cognitive or behavioral (e.g., Bailey, 1982, Byrd & Constantinides, 1992, Rubin & Smith, 1990). Affective responses of both foreign TAs and undergraduates largely have been ignored. The strength of the LEM is in its inclusion of all three processes - cognitive, affective, and behavioral. Second, the model also could be used to explain a number of interactions outside the classroom. With increasing global interdependence, there are more and more situations where a "foreign" person provides some sort of service (like the TAs) in a "native" country -- doctor-patient, business executives and clients (automobile industry, software industry, etc,.), diplomatic liaisons, etc,. Research findings, therefore, from the Oh No! Syndrome may be generalizable to other situations.

Third, these theoretical insights could be used to create new training programs for TAs and undergraduates and modify existing ones. There are a few programs that focus on improving the language skills and crosscultural awareness of foreign TAs, and enhancing the crosscultural sensitivity of undergraduates (e.g., Michigan State University's "Oh No! to O.K. program). Further, these training programs could be used to design programs in other areas listed above. Diversity training and multiculturalism are buzz words today, but they do suggest important ways to improve global harmony. The LEM offers one way to assist this process.

Language Expectation Model

The Language Expectation Model (LEM) focuses on three important factors to explicate the Oh No! Syndrome: 1) the language, and more specifically, the accent of the foreign TAs, 2) the expectations of the undergraduates, and 3) process by which undergraduates' language expectations influence their evaluation of foreign TAs' in the class room.

Recall Sugmin's situation from the beginning of this paper. When Sugmin walked into the lab, students notice that he is from a different country. It is likely that students' expectations of foreign TAs' language skills are evoked at this stage. Further, when Sugmin starts talking in an accent dissimilar to theirs, it may confirm their expectations. It is possible that the foreign TA may not look foreign (TAs from England, Australia, and other parts of Europe). In these cases, the expectations are sparked

only when the TA starts speaking. Either way, it appears the foreign TAs' accent significantly influences undergraduates' perception and evaluation of their foreign TA.

Researchers in several areas have documented the significant role expectations play in our lives. For example, the nonverbal expectancy violations model (Burgoon, 1978; Burgoon & Jones, 1976) suggests that we hold expectations about the nonverbal behavior of others. Specifically, Burgoon and Aho (1982) treat conversational distance as a message and explain how confirming or violating conversational distance influences judgments of source credibility, attraction, etc,. The nonverbal expectancy violations model begins by assuming that people have established expectations about the distances to be maintained during conversations. The model proposes, contrary to popular opinion, that there may be positive evaluations in certain situations when expectations are violated. Burgoon and Aho (1982) explain that positive evaluations are likely depending on the reward power the initiator of the violation has, and how extreme the violation is. For example, if the initiator has higher status, and deviates by moving closer than the expected distance, it is likely that s/he will be evaluated more positively than if s/he had maintained the normal distance or deviated farther away from the norm. There is a threshold, however. The initiator of the violation cannot move too close to the person s/he is speaking to. This would be a negative violation, and the initiator would be evaluated negatively. If the initiator of the violation has low reward

value, s/he is likely to be evaluated negatively if they do not maintain the expected distance. While this model initially explained only the consequences of violating conversational distance (Burgoon, 1983, 1985; Burgoon & Jones, 1976), it was later extended to include a variety of nonverbal behaviors (for example, immediacy behaviors; see Burgoon & Hale, 1988).

There is considerable research directly related to the LEM in the area of language attitudes. The term language attitudes represents a number of empirical studies looking at the social evaluation of speakers based on various aspects of language (Giles & Powesland, 1975). Several studies (see Edwards, 1982; Ryan & Giles, 1982 for reviews) over the last three decades have shown that accentedness influences a variety of behaviors including recall of information about outgroup members (Gill & Badizinski, 1992), negative evaluation of outgroup members in their ability to succeed, intelligence, and social awareness (Arthur, Farrar, & Bradford, 1974), categorizing outgroup members to a lower status (Callan, Gallois, & Forbes, 1983), and possibility of integration with the majority (Lyczak, Fu, & Ho, 1976).

Overall, research in this area suggests that the language we speak and the way we speak it (pronunciation, accent, grammar, etc,.) influences the way we are evaluated. Lambert and others (1960) have shown that <u>subjective</u> evaluations of speakers from minority groups are systematically influenced by stereotypes held about such groups. More directly, Rubin and Smith (1990) show

that the Oh No! Syndrome is created more by undergraduates' stereotypical attitudes towards foreign TAs than the TAs' perceived language deficiency.

Language Expectations

Burgoon and Walther (1990) explain:

> ... communication expectancies are cognitions about the anticipated behavior of specific others, as embedded within and shaped by the social norms for the contemporaneous roles, relationships, and context. While expectancies have associated evaluations and conative implications, we prefer to reserve the term "expectancy" for what is predicted to occur rather than what is desired (p. 236).

For the LEM, we are looking at the undergraduates' cognitions about the anticipated behaviors of the foreign TA in the classroom. Further, within the social norm of a teacher-student relationship, students expect to be taught by a teacher whose English is easy to understand. These expectations are not focused on specific foreign TAs, but are stereotype-based expectations with a common reaction to all foreign TAs (Rubin & Smith, 1990). Hewstone and Brown's (1986) definition of a stereotype with three essential aspects is particularly relevant here:

1. ... individuals are categorized, usually on the basis of easily identifiable characteristics such as sex or ethnicity.
2. A set of attributes is ascribed to all (or most)

members of that category. Individuals belonging to the stereotyped group are assumed to be similar to each other, and different from other groups, on this set of attributes.

3. The set of attributes is ascribed to any individual member of that category. (p.29)

From this definition, we are stereotypical only when we ascribe attributes to certain groups, and apply it to every member from that group irrespective of individual differences among these group members. With the Oh No! Syndrome, the foreign TAs are categorized generally on the basis of their nationality. Most often, they are from countries who form the majority of TAs in most campuses in the U.S. - People's Republic of China, Korea, Taiwan, and India (Rittenberg, 1992). In these countries (except India), students start learning English in their high school, and rarely find situations to practice their English. The attributes most likely ascribed to the majority of the foreign TAs are: 1) they speak with a thick and unintelligible accent, 2) their language skills are poor, and 3) therefore, they are inept teachers. These foreign TAs are differentiated from native TAs who are seen to have proficient skills in English. While there are foreign TAs from countries where English is widely spoken (e.g., England, Australia, Jamaica, etc,.), these foreign TAs constitute the minority and are generally not seen as a "foreign TA" (Rittenberg, 1992). TAs from Korea, China, and Taiwan (who tend to be the majority) are often seen as the "foreign" TA.

There are three aspects of these stereotype-based language expectations one can study - how they are created, their manifestation in specific communication behaviors, and how to change expectancies. The LEM will focus only on how these expectancies are manifested in undergraduates' cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes. Further, the LEM focuses on the undergraduates' cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes only during their first interaction with their foreign TA. There is substantial evidence that we form impressions of others very early in our initial interaction with others. For example, Schneider, Hastorf, and Ellsworth (1979) suggest there are six steps in interpersonal perception -- attention, snap judgment, attribution, trait implications, impression formation, and prediction of human behavior. They note that one could form an impression of another within the first few minutes of an interaction. In addition, Gudykunst (1991) argues that in most situations, and especially in initial intercultural encounters, people tend to interpret and evaluate incoming messages before describing them. There are times, he explains, where people don't describe at all. Gudykunst (1991) offers an example where a girl refuses to maintain eye contact during a conversation. A U.S. person, he argues, is most likely to evaluate, "She's lying," before trying to describe (she did not look me in the eyes when we talked) and interpret (any number of possible interpretations from "she is shy" to "she is lying") the event.

In the specific case of the Oh No! Syndrome, studying the

initial interaction is particularly important as almost 40% of the undergraduates drop from their classes when they encounter a foreign TA on the first day of class (Rubin & Smith, 1990). The LEM focuses, therefore, only on the first day of class when the undergraduates and the foreign TA meet for the first time.

The LEM

The cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes of the undergraduates during their interaction with their foreign TA is mapped out in a flow chart or a decision tree form. Each of the links in the flow chart is discussed to its logical conclusion before going to the next possible route.

Identified as Foreign TA

When the teaching assistant walks into class first day of the term (or semester), s/he has to be recognized as a "foreign TA." This happens when the TA looks "foreign," that is, has physical features of a person from a country outside the U.S. The confirmation of the TA as foreign happens only when s/he starts speaking with an accent dissimilar to what the students expect in the U.S. One of two things happens here.

If the students have had experiences with foreign TAs before in a class room, or heard about them from peers, specific expectations are evoked. These expectations could be positive (foreign TAs are good teachers) or negative (they have terrible accents, and I will not learn anything from this class). As most of the foreign TAs from Korea, China, and Taiwan do have an accent unlike that of the students', the expectations generally

are negative. The LEM focuses only on these negative expectations.

If the students: (1) have had no prior experience with a foreign TA as an instructor, (2) the university or their peers do not inform them that they will encounter a foreign TA, (3) have limited or no exposure to the media (especially television, and/or (4) they have had no experience with people from other countries, undergraduates will have no language expectations of their foreign TA. They do have other expectations like they would from any native TA - good knowledge of the subject, effective and entertaining communicator, and good interpersonal skills (Shepherd & Trank, 1986). With increasing number of foreign TAs teaching classes in the science departments (Rittenberg, 1992), publicity for this issue in most universities, and undergraduates telling each other about the Oh No! Syndrome, it is unlikely if there are many undergraduates who have no language expectations of their foreign TA. This paper only explores emotional, cognitive, and behavioral processes of undergraduates with language expectations of foreign TAs. For a detailed description of processes for those undergraduates with no expectations of their foreign TAs, read Rao (1994).

Strong versus Weak Prior Expectations for Foreign TAs

Undergraduates may expect their foreign TA to have poor language skills (in other words a strong accent) because they have prior personal experience with a foreign TA who had a strong accent. This personal experience could be direct, that is, they

have interacted with foreigners or foreign TAs who have strong accents, or the experience could be indirect, that is, they heard about it from their peers. The source of their expectation, whether it is direct or indirect, is vital for attitude change. Fazio (1990) argues that although attitudes based on direct and indirect experience may be expressed equally strongly, attitudes created by indirect experience are easier to change. Similarly, the undergraduates may have a strong or weak language expectation of their foreign TA. Undergraduates who have only heard about the foreign TA's strong accent will have a weak expectation as it based on indirect experience. However, undergraduates who have taken classes from foreign TAs with a strong accent are likely to have strong expectations. Although the processes for undergraduates with strong and weak expectations are the same, the evaluation of the foreign TA varies across these two conditions. The impact on evaluation is discussed in the flow-charts.

The expectations of the foreign TAs language skills (strong or weak) are either confirmed or violated. They are confirmed when the undergraduates perceive the foreign TA's accent to be severe and difficult to follow. The expectations are violated when the perceived accent is not as severe as expected.

Expectations confirmed. When undergraduates' expectations of foreign TAs' language skills are confirmed, there is an immediate negative affective response of anger, anxiety, and frustration (see Figure 1). The students are angry that they

will not be able to understand their TA; not learn anything; and they don't deserve this as they have paid to be taught well. Bodenhausen (1993) offers an excellent analysis of how emotions and arousal interface with cognitions to influence stereotypic judgments of outgroup members. In an intergroup situation with high anxiety, like the interaction between undergraduates and foreign TAs, Bodenhausen (1993) offers substantial evidence that people are more likely to use heuristic strategies to evaluate their communicator. Heuristic strategies are mental short-cuts people take in making decisions. The heuristic model of persuasion suggests that, " ... people exert little cognitive effort in judging the validity of a persuasive message, and, instead, base their agreement with a message on a rather *superficial* (italics included) assessment of a variety of extrinsic persuasion cues ..." (Chaiken, 1987, p. 3). Further, in their Elaboration Likelihood Model, Petty and Cacioppo (1986) argue that a person's motivation and ability to process messages influences whether people systematically evaluate messages (central route), or use short-cuts (peripheral route).

It is likely that anxious and angry undergraduates may have the ability to evaluate their foreign TA more systematically. There is generally little motivation to do so, however. Undergraduates often assume that it is the foreign TAs' responsibility to change their accent to make themselves understandable (Bresnahan, 1990). That they use heuristic cues (e.g., severe accent) to evaluate their foreign TA, therefore, is

not very surprising. Bodenhausen (1993) notes that a key component of the stereotyping process is the final judgment made by the member of one group about the member of another group. With the Oh No! Syndrome, the probable response would be a creation or reinforcement of a dislike towards all foreign TAs, and dropping the class if there is an option to take it with an American instructor later. This reaction would be consistent with other research on ingroup-outgroup interactions. For example, Wilder (1990) found, not surprisingly, that ingroup members exerted more influence on other members within the group than outgroup members. With the existing ethos that it is alright to drop a class taught by a foreign TA (Rubin & Smith, 1990), the undergraduates' decision to drop a class is reinforced by other undergraduates who do the same.

The relationship between the emotional response and the cognitive evaluation/behavior, however, is not that simple. Bodenhausen (1993) explains that mediating processes, individual differences, and situational moderators influence the extent to which anger and anxiety results in negative evaluations of the communicator. With the Oh No! Syndrome, the strength of these negative evaluations differ for undergraduates with strong or weak expectations.

Alloy and Tabachnik (1984) argue that prior expectations interact with current information to influence social judgments of others. Smith (1991) offers an adapted model of the Expectation by Situational Information Interaction Framework

which is shown in Table 1. Smith (1991) explains that "the effects of current information is strong when the data are nonambiguous, salient, or vivid, and weak when the data are ambiguous or inconsistent .... the effects of prior expectation will be strong when a schema is activated at the time of perceptual processing ..., and weak when no particular schema is available" (p. 7).

Alloy and Tabachnik's (1984) model can be adapted to explain the undergraduates' processes during the Oh No! Syndrome. When undergraduates have strong prior expectations of their foreign TA's poor language skills, and it is confirmed, they make a judgment with the highest confidence that their foreign TA has poor language skills and is an ineffective teacher (similar to Cell 4, Case 1 in Alloy & Tabachnik's framework). If undergraduates have weak prior expectations of their foreign TA's language skills, and it is confirmed, their negative judgment of the foreign TA is strongly influenced by the immediate foreign TA's language skills (similar to Cell 3 in Alloy & Tabachnik's framework). In both cases, the negative expectation of foreign TAs' language skills is reinforced, with undergraduates in Cell 4 with a stronger negative attitude towards foreign TAs than undergraduates in Cell 3.

Across the strong and weak conditions, the undergraduates' evaluation of their foreign TA is further moderated by at least three factors (personality traits, course content, and peers' reactions) resulting in one of these behaviors. Almost 40% of

these students will drop from this class (Rubin & Smith, 1990). Of others who stay, some complain constantly, and there are a few others who follow the TA's accent without trouble. The role of some of the undergraduates' personality traits, the course content, and peers' reaction are now discussed.

Bresnahan (1990) explains that personality traits like dogmatism, authoritarianism, and communal orientation influence undergraduates' reaction to foreign TAs. With the Oh No! reaction, if the undergraduates are open-minded, not authoritarian, and are group-oriented, they are more receptive to the foreign TAs' severe accent than those who are close-minded, more authoritarian, and not group-oriented.

Course content appears to moderate undergraduates' reactions to their foreign TA's severe accent (Rubin & Smith, 1990). If the subject taught by the foreign TA is a major for the undergraduate, s/he is more likely to pay attention, generally have a better grasp of the material, and complain less about the accent. There is, in addition, a motivation to learn as this is the undergraduate's major. Non-majors, however, are more likely to be frustrated, and maybe even drop the class.

The reactions of the undergraduate peers in the class room is a third and final moderating factor in the students' reaction to their foreign TA. There is substantial evidence that our social identity (e.g., Tedeschi & Reiss, 1981) and group dynamics (Sherif & Sherif, 1966) influences our decision making. Tedeschi and Ross (1981) explain that we engage in certain types of self-

presentations to gain social awards, and avoid punishments. From their famous boys' camp study, Sherif and Sherif (1966) showed that most of us want to belong to certain group(s) and be accepted by its members. This may, in addition, make us behave in ways we would consider wrong in other situations. In a series of experiments, Asch (1956) asked subjects to judge which of a set of three lines matched a fourth. The answer was pretty clear. This experiment was conducted in groups, and in certain conditions, every member (all confederates) apart from the subject answered incorrectly. Almost 75% of the subjects in this condition also answered incorrectly. Asch (1956) argues that it is extremely difficult to maintain a deviant view in the face of what appears to be an universal belief.

On the first day of the class, if there is a general murmur of disapproval by the undergraduates, it is very likely to influence other undergraduates who have no language expectations of their foreign TA. Such undergraduates (without expectations) may be inclined to believe that the Oh No! reaction is the appropriate behavior and may even decide to drop the class. It is also possible, however, that undergraduates in the class show no perceptible reaction, allowing the undergraduates without language expectations of their foreign TA make their own judgments.

Expectations violated. When a foreign TA violates the undergraduates language expectations by speaking in an understandable accent, there is generally a sigh of relief and

happiness (see Figure 1). Bodenhausen (1993) explains that like anger and anxiety, this positive arousal should also result in the use of heuristic strategies to judge foreign TAs. He also offers evidence to conclude, " ... happiness is likely to reduce the capacity for systematic, elaborative thought and to reduce the motivation for such mental activity" (p. 19). Undergraduates' reliance on heuristic cues (e.g., understandable accent) may result in generally positive evaluations of the foreign TA. Bodenhausen (1993) offers some evidence that happiness may result in negative evaluations of outgroup members. These studies, however, looked only at the incidental effect of emotion (unrelated to the context) on evaluations. It is likely that if the affect is integral to the context (like the undergraduate-foreign TA interaction), happiness may result in positive judgments of the foreign TA. The strength of happiness will depend on whether the undergraduate's prior expectations are strong or weak.

Using Alloy and Tabachnik's (1984) framework, when undergraduates' strong expectations of their foreign TA's poor language skills are violated, prior expectations should strongly influence evaluations to sub-type the foreign TA as an exception. Weber and Crocker (1983) define sub-typing as a process where "initial knowledge about the group is represented by superordinate stereotypes in which uniform trait attributions are made to the entire group. As discrepant information is acquired, discriminations within the group are made, leading to the

development of subtypes" (p. 962). In other words, all foreign TAs are seen as having poor language skills. When a foreign TA violates this stereotype, s/he is seen as an exception and subtyped. This suggests that the negative expectation of foreign TAs in general does not change. Undergraduates with weak expectations, however, are more likely to generalize their positive affective response to other foreign TAs. In other words, they are less likely to subtype their foreign TA as an exception.

Like before, the relationship between undergraduates happiness and the evaluation of the foreign TA is further moderated by: 1) undergraduates' traits like dogmatism, authoritarianism (Bresnahan, 1990); 2) course content (Rubin & Smith, 1990), and 3) peers' reactions (Asch, 1956; Sherif & Sherif, 1966; see discussion from an earlier section). The impact of course content across strong and weak expectations is explained in the hypotheses section.

Hypotheses

The Language Expectation Model (LEM) offers several testable hypotheses. In an effort to be parsimonious and thereby get a better understanding of the processes involved, only a part of the model is tested in this thesis. The hypotheses discussed follow the undergraduates' reactions when they encounter a foreign TA on the first day of class.

Hypotheses about Affect/Emotion

When a teaching assistant walks into class on the first day

of the term, and is labelled a foreign TA because of the way s/he looks and/or speaks, there is an immediate affective response. The valence of the affective response, positive or negative, will depend on whether the foreign TA subsequently confirms or violates the student's language expectation. Students should have a negative affective reaction (anger and anxiety) when the foreign TA confirms their expectations, and a positive affective response (relief and happiness) when the foreign TA violates the students' expectations. The affective response, therefore, is driven by the valence of the expectation.

H1: Students will have a more negative affective reaction towards a foreign TA when s/he confirms rather than violates their language expectations. Specifically:

a. students will experience higher levels of anger and anxiety when the foreign TA confirms rather than violates their language expectations.

b. students will experience higher levels of happiness when the foreign TA violates rather than confirms their language expectations.

Further, the intensity of students' affective reaction should depend upon the strength of their expectation (strong or weak prior expectations about the foreign TA's language skills). In general, students with strong expectations should have more extreme affective responses than students with weak expectations. In a related field, Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall (1965) argue that people with high levels of ego-involvement react differently

than people with low ego-involvement. Specifically, people with high ego-involvement tend to see viewpoints expressed close to their own as closer than they actually are (assimilation effect), and viewpoints expressed opposed to the receiver as further away than it actually is (contrast effect). When students' expectations are confirmed, they should therefore have a strong negative affective response and a weak positive affective response. Again, when students' expectations are violated, they should have a strong positive affective response and a weak negative affective response as it is a contrast effect in the opposite direction.

H2: Confirmation versus violation of expectations will exert stronger effects on the emotions of students who possess stronger prior expectations than on those with weaker prior expectations. Specifically:

a. when a foreign TA confirms prior expectations, students with strong prior expectations will experience higher levels of anger and anxiety than will students with weak expectations.

b. when a foreign TA violates prior expectations, students with strong prior expectations will experience lower levels of anger and anxiety than will students with weak expectations.

c. when a foreign TA violates prior expectations, students with strong prior expectations will experience higher levels of happiness and relief

than will students with weak expectations.

d. when a foreign TA confirms prior expectations, students with strong prior expectations will experience lower levels of happiness and relief than will students with weak expectations.

Hypotheses about Evaluation of the Foreign TA

The primary dependent variable in the LEM is the foreign TA's evaluation by the undergraduates. Shepherd and Trank (1986) framework, which explains how teachers are evaluated within three domains, is modified to measure the dependent variable. In the first domain, students rate their teacher's effectiveness on their fulfillment of the task goals. Shepherd and Trank (1986) explain that "teachers are expected to 'teach' a certain body of material that the students are expected to 'learn'" (p. 7). In other words, teachers are expected to be experts in the course content, and that content should be important intrinsically or pragmatically. The task goals are often clearly outlined in the class syllabus.

Secondly, teachers are judged on their fulfillment of relational goals. Shepherd and Trank (1986) explain:

> Teachers are expected to evidence caring for their students. Students expect teachers to evidence this caring in various ways: teachers are to be interested in what they do -- they are to give the sense that they want to be there and like their jobs; teachers are to make themselves available to the student outside of the classroom for individual help; ...;

> teachers should be relatively "easy to talk to" and so on; ... (p. 7)

Undergraduates evaluate the extent to which teachers fulfill these relational goals.

Finally, undergraduates judge their teachers on their communicative goals, that is, how well teachers communicate their expectations of the students in the class; explain concepts and offer interesting and relevant examples; answer questions; offer comments to assist students' learning; and do it a level undergraduates understand and enjoy (Shepherd & Trank, 1986).

In their study Shepherd and Trank (1986), using a constructivist approach to communication (see Delia, O'Keefe & O'Keefe, 1982 for explanation), argue that undergraduates who are cognitively less complex tend to evaluate their teachers similarly on task, relational, and communicative skills. In this case, cognitive complexity refers to the number of different constructs the students have for their teachers. Conversely, undergraduates who are cognitively more complex evaluate their teachers differently on three skills. Based on complexity-extremity theory (Linville, 1982; Linville & Jones, 1980) which explains how stereotypes influence target evaluations, it is very likely that the same argument applies to undergraduates evaluating their foreign TA.

Complexity-extremity theory (Linville, 1982; Linville & Jones, 1980) argues that people have more complex representations of ingroup members than outgroup members as we have more

experience with ingroups than outgroups. Further, there is a lesser chance to negatively evaluate an ingroup member as one has more dimensions for her/him, and negative dimensions are balanced by positive ones. For outgroup members, there are fewer dimensions to define them. When these dimensions are predominantly negative, there is a greater likelihood for extreme negative evaluations of outgroup members. With the Oh No! Syndrome, foreign TAs belong to an "outgroup" as undergraduates have limited interaction with them. In addition, as undergraduates appear to have negative stereotype-based expectancies of their foreign TAs language skills (Bailey, 1982; Bresnahan, 1990), it is likely that the foreign TAs' evaluations on task, relational, and communicative skills will be highly correlated. For example, the undergraduates' reasoning could be as follows: "I cannot understand my foreign TA. S/he has such a strong accent. She knows nothing about the subject, and does not know how to teach this class." When students' expectations are violated, evaluations of a foreign TA along task, relational, and communicative competence should not be highly correlated.

The simplest prediction is that evaluations of the foreign TA should the consistent with the students' prior expectations. Specifically:

H3: Students will have a less favorable evaluation of a foreign TA when s/he confirms rather than violates their language expectations.

However, three factors -- strength of prior expectations,

confirmation versus violation of expectation, and course content -- interact to influence how a foreign TA is evaluated.

When a foreign TA confirms prior expectations, for nonmajors, the evaluation of their foreign TA should be negative. There should be no significant difference, however, in evaluation between students with strong and weak expectations. For example, if students who are communication majors take a class in chemistry, both students with strong and weak expectations should evaluate the foreign TA negatively at the same level as their expertise in the area is limited, and it is likely that having this knowledge is not crucial to their careers. However, for chemistry majors, students with strong expectations should evaluate the foreign TA more negatively than students with weak expectations. Students with strong prior expectations perceive/feel that their inability to comprehend the foreign TA influences their careers more adversely than students with weak prior expectations.

H4: Strength of prior expectations, confirmation versus violation of expectations, and course content (major versus nonmajor) will interact in their effects on students' evaluation of a foreign TA. Specifically,

a. when a foreign TA confirms prior expectations, students with strong prior expectations will make more unfavorable evaluations of the foreign TA than will students with weak prior expectations, especially when the TA lectures on material that

is within rather than outside of the students' major.

When a foreign TA violates students prior expectations, majors with strong or weak expectations should evaluate the foreign TA positively, and at similar levels. For example, chemistry majors with strong or weak prior expectations should be equally happy/relieved that they can understand their foreign TA fairly easily. However, nonmajors with strong prior expectations should be more happy/relieved than those with weak expectations. For example, communication majors taking a class in chemistry with strong expectations should be more relieved than those with weak expectations.

b. when a foreign TA violates prior expectations, students with strong prior expectations will make more favorable evaluations of the foreign TA than will students with weak prior expectations, especially when the TA lectures on material that is outside of rather than within the students' major.

Hypothesis about Subtyping the Foreign TA

These evaluations of a foreign TA are generalized to other foreign TAs when a foreign TA confirms rather than violates their language expectations. When the expectation is violated, the positive evaluation of a foreign TA is generalized to other foreign TAs only when students have weak prior expectations. When students have strong prior expectations, they are more likely to sub-type the specific foreign TA by arguing that this

foreign TA is an exception by assuming that s/he has language skills atypical of the whole group (Weber & Crocker, 1983). Consistency theories (like cognitive dissonance, balance theory) would concur with this view that people who are highly involved are more likely to find ways to retain their original views.

H5: Confirmation versus violation of expectations and strength of expectations (weak versus strong) will interact in their effects on the extent to which students subtype their foreign TA, such that:

a. When a foreign TA confirms prior language expectations, students are likely not to subtype their foreign TA whether they have strong or weak prior expectations.

b. When a foreign TA violates prior language expectations, students with strong prior expectations will be more likely to engage in subtyping than will students with weak expectations.

Hypothesis about the Dimensions of Evaluation

The beginning of the hypothesis section explained how Shepherd and Trank (1986) differentiated the dimensions of evaluation. Confirmation or violation of prior expectation should influence the evaluation of a foreign TA along the three dimensions of task, communicative, and relational competence. In general, when a foreign TA confirms prior expectations, most students may agree that the foreign TA is competent but lacks communication skills. Thus, when a foreign TA confirms students

prior expectations, students' evaluations of their foreign TA should be more favorable along the task dimension than for the relational and communicative dimensions.

H6: Confirmation versus violation of prior expectations should influence the effects on evaluations of a foreign TA along three dimensions (task, communicative, and relational competence). Specifically,

a. when a foreign TA confirms prior expectations, judgments of task competence should be significantly more favorable than judgments of communicative and relational competence.

b. when a foreign TA violates prior expectations, judgments about the foreign TA should not differ across the three dimensions.

Hypotheses about Behavioral Intentions

In general, it is more likely that students will drop a course if the foreign TA confirms rather than violates their expectations.

H7: Students will be more likely to intend to drop a course from a foreign TA when s/he confirms rather than violates their language expectations.

However, confirmation versus violation should interact with strength of expectations (weak versus strong) to influence behavioral intentions. When expectations are confirmed, students with strong expectations are more likely to drop the class taught by a foreign TA than students with weak expectations. When

expectations are violated, students with strong expectations are less likely to drop the course than students with weak expectations.

H8: Confirmation versus violation of expectations should interact with strength of expectations to influence students' intentions to drop the course. Specifically:

a. When expectations are confirmed, students with strong prior expectations are more likely to drop the course than students with weak expectations.

b. When expectations are violated, students with strong prior expectations are less likely to drop the course than students with weak expectations.

Methods

Overview

This study was conducted in two phases. In Phase 1, the degree of accentedness and undergraduates' expectations of foreign TA's language skills were pretested. One hundred and twenty four pretest participants watched one of two videotapes to determine two types of accent -- one that participants perceive as difficult to understand, and the other as easy to follow. In the first run (N=60), all the participants perceived the accent of both foreign TAs as difficult to follow; they saw no differences between the two foreign TAs' accents. In the second run (N=64), students did perceive one of the foreign TAs as easy to follow, and the other difficult as to understand. In Phase 2, 330 experimental participants watched a three to four minute

videotape of a foreign TA on the first day of class, and evaluated him on task, relational, and communicative goals.

Phase 1: Pretest for Stimulus Materials

Research participants. A total of 124 (60 in the first run and 64 in the second run) students from a large southwestern university participated in this phase. They were told that this was an exercise designed to learn students' perceptions of instructors on campus. The participants were offered extra credit for volunteering their time and responses.

Procedures. In Round 1, two classes were chosen for the pretest. The procedure was the same in both classrooms. A research assistant (White Caucasian Male) walked into the classroom at the beginning of class, and thanked the participants for participating in the research. A White male was chosen to collect data as the author is a foreign TA himself, and was anxious not to bias students' responses. After signing the consent forms, the participants were told that they would answer a questionnaire, watch a videotape of an instructor for a minute, and answer a questionnaire again to complete the experiment. In classroom 1 (N=28), participants watched a videotape of a foreign TA with a severe accent which is difficult to understand. In classroom 2 (N=32), participants watched a videotape of a foreign TA with an accent easy to follow.

The whole process (questionnaire - videotape - questionnaire) took about 15 minutes. After collecting both questionnaires, the participants were debriefed, thanked again

for their participation, and allowed to leave. During debriefing, it was explained that this was a pretest tc see whether participants perceived the foreign TA's accent to be difficult or easy to follow. Participants were also requested not to share their experiences with other students as the researcher was planning to conduct similar research in the near future.

Stimulus materials. As most of the foreign TAs are from Asian countries, the stimulus for the pretest (videotape) was created by two Chinese male TAs, one whose accent was easy to follow and the other with a thick accent difficult to understand. The names of these TAs were suggested by staff from the International Teaching Assistants Training Center on Campus. After conversing with each TA for a few minutes, they appeared appropriate for the task. A script was created to simulate the first day of class in an interpersonal communication class. It included some personal information about the TA, and a brief introduction to the class and the syllabus. Both TAs delivered their script like an instructor would on the first day of class (looking at their notes occasionally), and took about a minute to complete the narration. To maintain consistency, these two samples were videotaped in the same classroom, and around the same time in the evening (6 P.M.). There were no students in the class, and the TAs were videotaped from waist up only.

Measurement instruments. Before watching the videotape, participants answered a questionnaire about: (a) their

demographic information, (b) the number of classes they have had from a foreign TA, (c) questions on whether they had heard anything about foreign TAs from roommates or friends, and if so, what the participants learned from them, and (d) four questions to measure how the participants saw themselves as students. After watching the videotape, participants responded to: (a) four questions to see if students' expectations of foreign TAs language skills were confirmed or violated, and (b) Troidahl's (1972) Dogmatism Scale. All questions were on a 5-point Likert-type scale, with 1 being the weakest reaction and 5 being the strongest reaction.

Results. Prior to viewing the videotapes, the 60 participants expected their foreign TA to speak with an accent fairly difficult to follow (M=3.8; SD=.88). After seeing the videotapes, a comparison of the cell means for confirmation of expectations (with 5 being expectations confirmed and 1 being expectations violated) suggested that there was no significant difference, $t(58)$=.88; p>.05, between the confirmed (Classroom 1; M=3.4) and violated (Classroom 2; M=3.6) conditions. In other words, data from the two classes indicated that participants did not perceive the two foreign TAs as differing in terms of confirmation of expectations.

In Round 2, one of the two foreign TAs was replaced with another Chinese TA who has lived in the U.S. for the past 20 years. His accent was more comparable to the "American" accent. This TA was filmed with the same script in the same classroom,

and around the same time in the evening (6 P.M.). Using the same procedures and measurements listed above, the pretest was conducted again in two new classes.

Prior to viewing the videotapes, the 64 participants in Round 2 also expected their foreign TA to speak with an accent fairly difficult to understand (M=3.7). As anticipated, after viewing the videotapes, a comparison of the cell means for confirmation of expectations (with 5 being expectations confirmed and 1 being expectations violated) suggested that there was a significant difference, $t(62)=4.8$; $p<.05$, between the confirmed (Classroom 1; M=3.4) and the violated (Classroom 2; M=1.1) conditions. In other words, in Classroom 1, as expected, the foreign TA was perceived as difficult to follow, while in Classroom 2, the foreign TA was perceived as easy to follow.

Phase 2: Experimental Measures and Procedures

Research participants. A total of 330 students (from 15 different classes) in a large southwestern university participated in this phase. They were told that this was an exercise to learn students' perceptions of instructors on campus. Only 2 of the 15 instructors offered extra credit for participating. Preliminary analyses revealed no systematic differences between responses from students who received extra credit and those who did not on any of the dependent variables; hence responses have been combined in all analyses.

Procedure. The procedures, which were similar to those used in the pretest, were the same in all 15 classrooms. Three

research assistants (one White male and two White females) collected the data. All three research assistants went through a one hour training session where the data collection process was simulated. A step-by-step instruction sheet provided to all three assistants discussed ways to handle possible difficulties.

In each class, the research assistant began by thanking the students for participating in the research. After signing the consent forms, the participants were told that they would answer a questionnaire, watch a videotape of an instructor for three to five minutes, and answer a questionnaire again to complete the experiment. If students had participated in the same experiment in another class, they were requested not to participate again. The participants watched one of four videotapes: (a) the foreign TA with an accent difficult to follow teaching a chemistry lab, (b) the foreign TA with an accent difficult to follow teaching an interpersonal communication class, (c) the foreign TA with an accent easy to follow teaching a chemistry lab, and (d) the foreign TA with an accent easy to follow teaching an interpersonal communication class. Procedures for creating these four tapes are described in a later section.

The whole process (questionnaire - videotape - questionnaire) took about 25 minutes. After collecting both questionnaires, the participants were debriefed, thanked again for their participation, and allowed to leave. The debriefing process explained that this was an experiment to see how participants' language expectations of foreign TAs influenced

their judgments of foreign TAs when these expectations were confirmed or violated. The research assistants answered questions that they were trained for, and for questions they could not answer, they provided the author's phone number. Participants also were requested not to share their experiences with other students as the researcher was collecting data in other classes.

Independent variables. The independent variables in this study are: (a) students' prior language expectations (strong or weak); (b) expectation confirmed or violated (severe or weak accent); (c) Lecture topic --chemistry or communication (major versus non major).

Students' prior expectations were measured by a set of six questions, with two questions each on expectations of foreign TA's communication competence, relational competence, and task competence. Further, students' strong versus weak expectations of foreign TA's language skills were created by using a median split (strong expectations = 3.5 or greater on the 5-point scale, and weak expectations = less than 3.5 on the 5-point scale) on the items measuring expectations.

Confirmation versus violation of expectations was operationalized by videotaping one foreign TA whose accent is difficult to follow and another foreign TA whose accent is easy to comprehend. The same two foreign TAs from the pretest were used for this part of the study. The scene in the tape was a simulation of the first day of class where the TA introduces

himself, discusses the syllabus, and offers a brief introduction to the subject matter. Like the pretest, the videotaping was done in the same classroom, and at the same time in the evening (6 P.M.).

The lecture topic was operationalized by having each foreign TA teach both the chemistry lab and the interpersonal communication class. The script for the two classes had a similar structure (personal introduction, discussion of the syllabus, and a brief introduction to the topic). The script for the Chemistry Lab (3 minutes) was slightly shorter than the script for the interpersonal communication class (4 minutes). Both TAs delivered their script like an instructor would on the first day of class, by looking at their notes and at the class intermittently.

Dependent variables. After watching the video tape (about three to four minutes), students answered: (a) a modified version of Watson, Clark, and Tellegen's (1988) positive and negative affect PANAS scales [a composite score was created for positive (6 items) and negative (6 items) emotions]; (b) a modified version of Shepherd and Trank's (1986) scales to evaluate instructors on task, relational, and communicative goals; and (c) a set of questions to assess whether students engaged in sub-typing (Weber & Crocker, 1983), and whether they would drop a class taught by the foreign TA on videotape. Students also answered: (a) four questions as a manipulation check to measure if the participants' expectations were confirmed or violated, and

(b) ten comprehension questions to determine if they recalled what the foreign TA talked about. All the questions were in a 5-point Likert-type format (with 1 as low and 5 as high), except the comprehension questions where the students respond true or false to a set of statements.

Results

Overview

The results section begins with a general description of the profile of the participants, and descriptive data on the experimental variables. This is followed by explaining the results for each of the nine hypotheses. All the hypotheses were analyzed using factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA), except hypothesis 6 which was analyzed using repeated measures analysis of variance.

Profile of the participants

There were 330 participants in the study (192 female and 137 male). The average age (in years) was 25. The over representation of females and the higher than normal average age is comparable to the Department's male/female ratio (40/60) and the average age of the students (27). There is a larger representation of juniors and seniors (95 and 146) compared to the freshmen and sophomores (21 and 67).

Based on an earlier survey, it appeared that it would be possible to have an equal number of communication and natural science majors. This, however, was not reflected in the final sample. Of the 330 participants, 107 were communication majors

and only 42 were natural science majors. As this is an important factor for a few hypotheses, only data from these 149 students will be analyzed for hypotheses involving type of major.

Table 2 summarizes descriptive data (mean, standard deviation, and reliability) of all the experimental variables. All items are 5-point Likert-type questions with 5 indicating stronger responses to the question. The reliability of the items were fairly high, ranging from .74 to .89.

Manipulation Check

A manipulation check was performed to determine if students' expectations of foreign TAs' language skills were negative, and that these expectations were either confirmed or violated by the two foreign TAs in the study. Consistent with the predictions, students had a fairly strong negative expectation of their foreign TA's language skills before viewing the videotape (M=3.5). After viewing the videotape, the cell means for the confirmation of expectations (5=confirmed; 1=violated) indicated that there was a significant difference between the confirmed (M=4.01) and the violated (M=1.80) conditions, $F(1,327)=525.46$; $p<.001$. Confirmation of expectations explained a significant portion of the variance (eta-squared=.62).

Hypotheses about Affect/Emotion

Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis predicted that students will have a more negative affective response when the foreign TA confirms rather than violates their language expectations. There

were two parts to Hypothesis 1. Hypothesis 1a predicted that students will experience higher levels of anger when expectations are confirmed rather than violated. To test this hypothesis, a oneway analysis of variance, analyzing the effects of confirmed versus violated expectations on negative emotions was performed. Results suggested that the data were consistent with the hypothesis.

Students' level of anger was higher when the foreign TA confirmed (M=2.62) rather than violated (M=1.88) prior expectations, $F(1,312)=45.24$; $p<.001$. Confirmation of expectations, however, explained only a moderate portion of the variance on the levels of anger (eta-squared=.13).

Hypothesis 1b predicted that students will experience higher levels of happiness when the foreign TA violates rather than confirms students' language expectations. To test this hypothesis, a oneway analysis of variance which analyzed the main effects of confirmed versus violated expectations on positive emotions was performed. Results suggest that the data are not consistent with the hypothesis. Levels of happiness did not differ when the foreign TA confirmed (M=2.12) or violated (M=2.06) prior expectations, $F(1,313)=.30$; $p>.05$.

Overall, the results indicated that while confirmation versus violation of expectations exerted main effects on negative

emotions, there were no main effects for positive emotions.

Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis predicted that expectations (confirmed versus violated) should interact with strength of expectations (strong versus weak) to influence emotions (positive and negative). The strength of expectations measure was created by a median-split on an aggregate score for prior expectations. Based on the distribution of scores for prior expectations (mean=3.31; median=3.5), students whose expectations were 3.5 or higher were grouped under "strong expectations," and students whose expectations were less than 3.5 were grouped under "weak expectations." Based on this grouping, there were 174 students with strong expectations, and 150 with weak expectations.

There are four parts to the second hypothesis. Hypothesis 2a and 2b, dealing with negative emotions, predicted that when a foreign TA confirms prior expectations, students with strong expectations will feel higher levels of anger and anxiety than students with weak expectations. Further, when a foreign TA violates prior expectations, students with strong expectations should experience lower levels of anger and anxiety than students with weak expectations. To test this hypothesis, an analysis of variance which analyzed the effects of expectations and strength of expectations on negative emotions was performed.

The data were consistent with hypothesis 2a and 2b. The analysis of variance analysis indicated that both confirmation of expectations, $F(1,304)=47.18$; $p<.001$, and strength of

expectations, $F(1,304)=5.38$; $p<.03$, exerted significant main effects on negative emotions. Further, there is a significant interaction between confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations, $F(1,304)=7.49$; $p<.01$. As interaction effects can override main effects, the interaction effect is interpreted first.

The cell means for negative emotions indicate that when expectations are confirmed, students with stronger expectations have stronger negative emotions than those with weak expectations (see Table 3). Further, when expectations are violated, students with stronger expectations have lower levels of anger and anxiety than those with weak expectations.

To reconfirm these conclusions, contrasts were fitted specifically to test hypothesis 2a and 2b (see Table 3). Results indicated that the data were consistent with the predicted model, $F(1,304)=51.67$; $p<.05$, and the residual explained variance was not statistically significant, $F(2,304)=2.89$; $p>.05$.

Hypothesis 2c and 2d, dealing with positive emotions, predicted that when a foreign TA confirms prior expectations, students with strong expectations will feel lower levels of happiness and relief than those students with weak expectations. Further, when a foreign TA violates prior expectations, students with strong expectations should experience higher levels of happiness and relief than those students with weak expectations. To test this hypothesis, a two-way analysis of variance exploring the effects of expectations and strength of expectations on

positive emotions was performed.

Results indicated that the data were not consistent with the hypothesis. While there was a main effect for strength of confirmation of expectations, $F(1,305)=13.76$; $p<.001$, there was no main effect for expectations, $F(1,305)=.16$; $p>.05$. There was a significant interaction between confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations for positive emotions, $F(1,305)=10.63$; $p<.01$. Although there is a significant interaction, the cell means (Table 4) clearly indicate that the data are not consistent with the predicted interaction for students with weak expectations. For students with strong expectations, the confirmation versus violation manipulation did significantly affect levels of positive emotions, $F(1,168)=4.46$; $p<.04$. For students with weak expectations, those who heard the foreign TA confirm expectations unexpectedly reported more positive responses than those who heard the foreign TA violate expectations, $F(1,137)=5.80$; $p<.02$.

Overall, like Hypothesis 1, the data are consistent with the hypothesis for negative emotions and not for positive emotions. Indeed, the most positive response comes from students with weak expectations when a foreign TA confirms their expectations.

Hypotheses about Evaluation of the Foreign TA

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the foreign TA is likely to be evaluated more negatively if s/he confirms rather than violates students expectations. To test this hypothesis a oneway analysis

of variance, which analyzed the main effects of confirmed versus violated expectations on evaluations of the foreign TA was performed. A composite measure of evaluation, including all three dimensions of task, relational, and communication competence, was used.

The results were consistent with the hypothesis. The analysis of variance indicated that there was a significant main effect for confirmation of expectations, $F(1,313)=87.15$; $p<.001$, such that students whose expectations were confirmed evaluated the foreign TA less favorably ($M=2.78$) than students whose expectations were violated ($M=3.45$). Confirmation of expectation explains a moderate portion of the variance (eta-squared=.21).

A secondary analysis was performed to analyze the main effects of confirmed versus violated expectations on evaluations of the foreign TA on the three dimensions of competence (task, relational, and communication) separately (A factor analysis indicated that the three dimensions of competence were not unidimensional). The analysis of variance indicated that there was a significant main effect for confirmation of expectations such that students whose expectations were confirmed evaluated the foreign TA less favorably on task competence, $F(1,318)=10.73$; $p<.002$; eta-squared=.03, and communication competence, $F(1,318)=357.78$, $p<.001$; eta-squared=.53, than students whose expectations were violated. There were no significant effects, however, for confirmation of expectations on relational competence, $F(1,318)=1.49$; $p>.05$; eta-squared=.01.

Overall, students evaluate the foreign TA less favorably when their expectations are confirmed rather than when violated. They evaluate the foreign TA less favorably on task and communication competence when their expectations are confirmed rather than when violated. Specifically, they evaluate the foreign TA significantly more positively when their expectations are violated than confirmed. Students, however, evaluate the foreign TA similarly on relational competence whether the foreign TA confirms or violates their expectations.

Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 predicted that expectations (confirmed versus violated), strength of expectations (strong versus weak), and course content (major versus nonmajor) should interact in their effects on students' evaluations of their foreign TA. There were two parts to the fourth hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4a suggested that when a foreign TA confirms prior expectations, students with strong expectations will make less favorable evaluations of their foreign TA than students with weak expectations, especially if the foreign TA lectures on material that is within rather than outside the students' major. To test this hypothesis, a three-way analysis of variance crossing the factors of strength of expectations, confirmation of expectations, and course content was performed. The dependent measure was a composite measure of the three dimensions of foreign TA competence -- task, relational, and communicative competence. Course content was operationalized by matching the

student's major with the topic they listened to on the video tape. Natural science majors who watched the chemistry lecture, and communication majors who watched the communication lecture were grouped under "Match." Conversely, natural science majors who watched the communication lecture, and communication majors who watched the chemistry lecture were grouped under "Mismatch." Hence, only a subset of the entire sample was included in this analysis (N=149).

Results from the analysis of variance suggested that the data were not consistent with the hypothesis. There was a significant main effect for confirmation of expectations, $F(1,131)=49.56$; $p<.001$, and strength of expectations, $F(1,131)=7.93$; $p<.01$. The main effect for course content was not significant, $F(1,131)=.17$; $p>.05$, nor were the confirmation of expectation by course content, $F(1,131)=.19$; $p>.05$, or strength of expectation by course content interactions, $F(1,131)=2.59$; $p>.05$. The 3-way interaction for strength of expectations, confirmation of expectations, and course content was also not significant, $F(1,131)=.91$; $p>.05$. The confirmation of expectation by strength of expectation interaction, however, was significant, $F(1,131)=5.68$; $p<.02$.

Since neither the main effect nor the interactions involving course content were significant, this hypothesis was reanalyzed using the whole sample of 330. It was predicted that when a foreign TA confirms prior expectations, students with strong expectations should evaluate the foreign TA less favorably than

students with strong expectations. When a foreign TA violates prior expectations, students with strong expectations should make more favorable evaluations of the foreign TA than students with weak expectations.

The results for the entire sample were consistent with this part of the hypothesis. There were significant main effects for strength of expectations, $F(1,306)=12.36$; $p<.002$, and confirmation of expectations, $F(1,306)=90.16$; $p<.001$. The 2-way interaction of strength of expectation by expectation on evaluation was statistically significant, $F(1,306)=4.32$; $p<.04$. Cell means are shown in Table 5. A contrast fitted to test the revised hypothesis indicated that the data are consistent with the hypothesis, $F(1,306)=91.25$; $p<.05$, but the residual explained variance was also significant, $F(2,306)=6.21$; $p<.05$.

A secondary analysis was performed to analyze the effects of confirmation of expectation and strength of expectations on the three dimensions of competence (task, relational, and communication) separately. The 2-way interaction of strength of expectation by confirmation of expectation on evaluation was statistically significant for communication competence, $F(1,311)=7.51$; $p<.05$, and not significant for task competence, $F(1,311)=.85$; $p>.05$, and relational competence, $F(1,311)=3.03$; $p>.05$. When contrasts were fitted to test the hypothesis directly for task and relational competence (similar to the ones used in Table 5), the data were consistent with the hypothesis for task competence, $t(311)=3.46$; $p<.002$, and not for relational

competence, $t(310)=1.68$; $p>.05$.

Although the contrasts indicated that the data were consistent with Hypothesis 4, a study of the cell means for the effects of confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations on task and communication competence suggested that the mean differences between strong and weak expectations is about the same for the violated condition. Contrasts were fitted to test this alternate model for task (Table 6) and communication competence (Table 7). Results indicated that the alternate model explained more variance (sum of squares for task competence=9.36; sum of squares for communication competence=164.43) than the original model (sum of squares for task competence=6.60; sum of squares for communication competence=157.95).

Overall, course content does not appear to have any significant impact on the evaluation of the foreign TA. As this decision is based on fairly small sample sizes, it should be accepted cautiously. Results initially indicated that when expectations were confirmed, students with strong expectations did evaluate the foreign TA less favorably than students with weak expectations. Similarly, when expectations were violated, students with strong expectations evaluated the foreign TA more favorably than students with weak expectations. A secondary analysis suggested that there was no significant interaction between confirmation of expectation and strength of expectation on relational competence. For task and communication competence, however, when expectations were confirmed, students

with strong expectations evaluated the foreign TA less favorably than students with weak expectations. When expectations were violated, there were no significant differences between students with strong and weak expectations in their evaluation of the foreign TA on task and relational competence. Evaluation of foreign TA on communication competence differed significantly when expectations were violated. In other words, Hypothesis 4 was supported fully when the foreign TA confirmed expectations, and partially supported when the foreign TA violated prior expectations.

Hypothesis about Subtyping the Foreign TA

Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 predicted that strength of expectations (strong versus weak) and expectations (confirmed versus violated) should interact to affect the extent to which students subtype their foreign TA. Subtyping occurs when students see a foreign TA as an exception: "This foreign TA is not like other foreign TAs." In this study, it is defined specifically that for situations when a foreign TA violates exceptions, s/he is seen as exception. Hypothesis 5 has two parts that were tested with an analysis of variance for investigating the effects of strength of expectations and confirmation of expectations on subtyping.

Hypothesis 5a predicted that when a foreign TA confirms expectations, students with weak and strong expectations are equally likely not to subtype their foreign TA. Hypothesis 5b predicted that when a foreign TA violates expectations, students

with strong expectations are more likely to subtype than students with weak expectations. Results indicated that the data were not consistent with the hypothesis. Both the main effects for confirmation of expectations, $F(1,308)=1.46$; $p>.05$, and for strength of expectations, $F(1,308)=.48$; $p>.05$, were not statistically significant. The predicted 2-way interaction between expectations and strength of expectations also was not statistically significant, $F(1,308)=2.88$; $p>.05$. As ANOVA picks up only cross-over interactions, specific contrasts were fitted to test the hypothesis. Cell means are shown in Table 8, and results indicated that the data still were not consistent with the hypothesis, $t(308)=1.34$; $p>.05$.

Overall, the results suggested that students' likelihood of subtyping their foreign TA will not be affected by either whether the foreign TA confirmed or violated their expectations, or whether students had strong or weak expectations.

Hypothesis about the Dimensions of Evaluation

Hypothesis 6

Hypothesis 6 predicted that expectations (confirmation versus violation) should exert different effects on evaluations of a foreign TA along the dimensions of task, relational, and communicative competence. Specifically, Hypothesis 6a predicted that when expectations were confirmed, judgments of task competence should be significantly more favorable than judgments of communicative or relational competence. Further, Hypothesis 6b suggested that when expectations were violated, judgments

about the foreign TA will not differ across the three dimensions.

To evaluate this hypothesis, a repeated measures analysis of variance was performed crossing the between-subjects factor of expectations (confirmed versus violated) and within-subjects factor of type of evaluation (task, relational, and communication). Results indicated significant main effects for the confirmed and violated conditions, $F(1,313)=72.9$; $p<.001$, and for the three types of competence, $F(2,626)=150.37$; $p<.001$. Both findings were qualified by a significant interaction between confirmation of expectations and the three types of competence, $F(2,626)=175.18$; $p<.001$.

Contrasts were fitted to interpret the interaction and test the hypothesis more directly. When the expectations were confirmed, results indicated that both the linear and quadratic contrasts were statistically significant. However, consistent with the prediction (Hypothesis 6a), the linear contrast, $t(316)=10.39$; $p<.001$, explained more variance than the quadratic contrast, $t(316)=3.46$; $p<.002$. The linear contrast indicates that when expectations were confirmed, judgments of task competence ($M=3.05$) were higher than judgments of both relational ($M=2.90$) and communication competence ($M=2.45$; see Table 9).

When expectations were violated, the data were not consistent with the hypothesis. Contrary to the prediction (Hypothesis 6b), there were significant differences between the task, relational, and communication competence. Both the linear, $t(316)=10.14$; $p<.001$, and quadratic contrasts,

$t(316)=12.91$; $p<.001$, were again statistically significant. These results indicate, therefore, that when expectations are violated, students' evaluations of their foreign TA differ significantly across the three dimensions of task, relational, and communication competence. In particular, students evaluate the foreign TA more favorably on communication competence when he violates rather than confirms prior expectations.

Overall, for Hypothesis 6, there was a main effect for confirmation of expectations, and an interaction between expectations and the three dimensions of competence. However, the data were consistent with the hypotheses only when expectations were confirmed. Students evaluated their foreign TA more favorably on task competence than on relational and communication competence under this condition. When expectations were violated, contrary to the prediction, students evaluated the foreign TA on task, relational, and communication competence differently.

Hypotheses about Behavioral Intentions

Hypothesis 7

Hypothesis 7 predicted that students are more likely to drop the class taught by the foreign TA on video tape when s/he confirms rather than violates expectations. To test this hypothesis, a oneway ANOVA testing the effects of confirmation of expectations on dropping the class was performed. Results indicated that the data are consistent with the hypothesis. A significant main effect for confirmation of expectations,

$F(1,315)=35.23$; $p<.001$, indicated that students are more likely to drop the class when their expectations are confirmed ($M=3.76$) than when expectations are violated ($M=2.92$). Intentions to drop the class explained a moderate portion of the variance (eta-squared=.10).

Hypothesis 8

Hypothesis 8 predicted that confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations should interact to influence students' intentions to drop the course. Specifically, Hypothesis 8a predicted that when expectations were confirmed, students with strong expectations are more likely to drop the class taught by the foreign TA than students with weak expectations. Hypothesis 8b predicted that when expectations were violated, students with strong expectations are less likely to drop the course than students with weak expectations. To test this hypothesis, a two-way analysis of variance examining the effects of confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations on dropping the class taught by a foreign TA was performed.

Results indicate that while there is a main effect for confirmation of expectations, $F(1,310)=34.67$; $p<.001$, there is no main effect for strength of expectation, $F(1,310=1.42$; $p>.05$. However, there is a significant interaction between confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations for dropping the class, $F(1,310)=4.07$; $p<.05$. Contrasts were fitted to test the hypothesis directly (see Table 10). Results indicated that the data were consistent with the hypothesis, $F(1,310)=36.29$; $p<.05$,

and the residual explained variance was not statistically significant, $F(2,310)=1.51$; $p>.05$. Specifically, when expectations were confirmed, students with strong expectations were more likely to drop the class than students with weak expectations. Similarly, when expectations were violated, students with strong expectations were less likely to drop the class than students with weak expectations.

Discussion

General Patterns of Findings

Confirmed hypotheses. Most of the predictions in the LEM relate to expectations (confirmed versus violated) and the strength of expectations (strong versus weak). Students, in general, had fairly strong negative expectations that their foreign TA will have an accent that is difficult to follow. The LEM 3) predicts that (all other factors remaining constant) students will have a more negative affective, cognitive, and behavioral response when a foreign TA confirms rather than violates students' language expectations.

Across most of the hypotheses, students express stronger negative reactions when a foreign TA confirms rather than violates students' prior language expectations. Specifically, students: (a) exhibit higher levels of anger and anxiety, (b) evaluate the foreign TA less favorably on task and communication competence, and (c) are more likely to drop a class taught by a foreign TA, when a foreign TA confirms rather than violates students' language expectations of foreign TAs.

The LEM also predicts that strength of expectations (strong versus weak) will interact with expectations (violated versus confirmed). When a foreign TA confirms prior expectations, students with strong rather than weak expectations: (a) exhibit higher levels of anger and anxiety, (b) evaluate the foreign TA less favorably on task and communication competence, and (c) are more likely to drop a class taught by a foreign TA.

When a foreign TA violates prior expectations, consistent with the predictions, students with strong expectations vary in their responses across different variables. Specifically, when a foreign TA violates prior expectations, students with strong rather than weak expectations are less likely to take a class with a foreign TA in the future. In other cases, however, students with strong rather than weak expectations: (a) feel less anger and anxiety, and (b) are less likely to drop the course taught by a foreign TA than students with weak expectations. Overall, the LEM's predictions for expectations (confirmed versus violated) and strength of expectations (strong versus weak) were confirmed. There were a few predictions, however, that were not confirmed.

Disconfirmed hypotheses. Data are not consistent with the hypotheses for positive affective responses. The LEM predicts that students would be more happy and relieved when a foreign TA violated rather than confirmed their expectations. Students, however, were equally happy and relieved whether the foreign TA confirmed or violated their expectations. It is understandable

that the students were not happy or relieved when a foreign TA confirmed their expectations (mean=2.12). The positive affective response was, in fact, marginally lower when the foreign TA violated the expectations. A plausible explanation is that students felt that the foreign TA had done nothing extraordinary by violating their expectations. The foreign TA had just fulfilled the students' right to have a teacher whose accent is easy to follow. With strong negative expectations, students' reaction may have been, "About time we had more foreign TAs who can speak English in a way that is easy to follow. We do pay lots of money to get this education," rather than, "Wow! we finally have a foreign TA who can speak fluently." In other words, the students' reaction may have been one of rightful indignation rather than happiness.

The LEM also predicts that expectations (confirmed versus violated) should interact with strength of expectations (strong versus weak) such that when a foreign TA confirms prior expectations, students with strong expectations will be less happy than students with weak expectations. Also, when a foreign TA violates prior expectations, students with strong expectations should be more happy than a student with weak expectations. While there was a significant interaction between expectations and strength of expectations, the data were not consistent with the model. When expectations were confirmed, students with strong expectations had the least positive affective response, as predicted. When expectations were confirmed, however, students

with weak expectations had the most positive affective response. It is likely that the students' happiness had more to do with the confirmation of expectation and little to do with the foreign TA's severe accent. In other words, students with weak expectations were happy that what other students had mentioned was, in fact, true.

The LEM predicts that the students' area of expertise (operationalized as major versus nonmajor; chemistry versus communication) should interact with expectations and strength of expectations to influence evaluation of their foreign TA. There are no significant main or interaction effects for major versus nonmajor. However, the researcher's expectation of obtaining a large sample for the two groups (chemistry and communication) was violated. The total sample is 330, of which 107 are communication majors, and only 42 are chemistry majors. This small sample's further division into one of six conditions (expectations x strength of expectations x confirmation of expectations) made the cell sizes very small, making interpretation of the results less useful.

Expectations (confirmed versus violated) did not interact significantly with strength of expectations (strong versus weak) to influence subtyping. In other words, students think that the foreign TA they watched on video is like other foreign TAs on campus. This was true whether the foreign TA confirmed or violated their expectations, and whether students had weak or strong expectations. As this study only simulated a classroom

encounter, and only with a foreign TA on video tape, students' impressions of this foreign TA may not have generalized to other foreign TAs on campus. Also, subtyping was measured by only one question, and that item may not have captured the essence of the concept.

As noted before, when expectations were confirmed, students with strong expectations evaluated the foreign TA less favorably on task and communication competence than students with weak expectations. However, when expectations were violated, contrary to the prediction, there were no significant differences between students with strong and weak expectations evaluating their foreign TA on task and communication competence. Consistent with the earlier findings on positive affective response, it is likely that students' rightful indignation (about time we had a foreign TA that could speak English fluently!) rather than prior expectations influences their judgment of foreign TAs when expectations are violated.

While there were a few significant effects for task and communication competence, there were no effects for relational competence. Students evaluated their foreign TA's on relational competence equally across confirmed and violated conditions, and across strong versus weak conditions. This is not surprising as students did not get a chance to evaluate the foreign TA after interacting with him. They only watched him on videotape. All the questions on relational competence were focused on interacting with students while task and communication competence

items focused on the foreign TA's ability in his subject matter and his ability to communicate with the students in the classroom.

Implications for the Language Expectation Model

Since data were consistent with several of the hypotheses, there are several significant implications for the Language Expectation Model (LEM).

First, once the teaching assistant is identified as a "foreign TA," expectations regarding his/her accent are evoked. These expectations are clearly negative. That is, students expect the foreign TA's accent to be difficult to follow. Furthermore, these negative expectations range from moderately weak to very strong, with an average "fairly strong" response. From this study, it is clear that there are very few students who have no language expectations of their foreign TA.

Second, students' prior language expectations of their foreign TA are either confirmed or violated. Data were altogether consistent with the model when students' expectations are confirmed rather than being violated. Students are more angry and anxious, evaluate the foreign TA less favorably, are more likely to drop the class taught by this foreign TA, and feel more strongly that they do not want to take classes with a foreign TA in the future. However, when expectations are violated, students do not have a significantly stronger positive affective response than when their expectations are confirmed. At best, they are less angry and anxious when their expectations

were violated. The model, therefore, has been revised to reflect the students' sentiment when expectations are violated (see Figure 2). Even though students did not feel very happy and relieved, they evaluated the foreign TA more favorably, and were more likely to stay in class when expectations were violated rather than being confirmed. Although the students did not see their foreign TA as an exception (that is, no subtyping), it is still retained in the model as there was only a weak test of this variable (one-item measure) in this study.

Of the three moderating variables, course content (major versus nonmajor) was the only variable tested in the study. As there were no significant effects for this variable, it has been removed from the model.

Implications for Future Research

This study tested a model (LEM) to explain students' affective, cognitive, and behavioral processes interacting with their foreign TA on the first day of class. Apart from the interesting findings, there were many lessons learned about how to this study could have been conducted differently to make it a better study. Suggestions are also made to extend the scope of the LEM.

How would this study be conducted differently now? First, the simulation would be made more realistic for the students. In an actual classroom, students' "Oh No!" reaction is partly due to the difficulty in understanding the accent, and partly because their grades in the class depend on the foreign TA. In other

words, the foreign TA can reward or punish the student with grades.

Apart from simulating the reward/punishment concept in the classroom, offering extra credit contingent on recall performance also may reflect on the students' learning styles (more motivated students eager to earn more points, and less motivated ones not so eager to get points). After the students are debriefed, they will be told that this was just an experiment and that they will get all the 5 points.

Second, measurement problems should be addressed. More items would be added to measure subtyping, intention to drop the class, and to take classes with a foreign TA in the future. Further, Watson, Clark and Tellegen's (1988) PANAS scale could be revised to make the items more appropriate for the interaction between students and foreign TAs. To make this revision, several focus groups could be conducted with students to learn what they feel when a foreign TA confirms or violates their expectations.

Finally, as much as access to students is a difficult issue, data should be collected in the chemistry (and other natural science departments) to see if there is an interaction between expectations, strength of expectations, the subject of the class, and the students' major.

What should we do next? A fruitful next step is to conduct a similar study in a different university for a comparative analysis. First, students in the present study are from three cultures (Native American, Hispanic, and Anglo), and these three

groups interact a lot. Students at a large midwestern university (Peltier, 1994), in comparison, are predominantly White (73%), along with a moderately small representation of African American (7.4%), International Students (6.0%), Asian/Pacific Islanders (3.3%), and Hispanics (2.1%).

How can we extend the scope of the LEM? The LEM's scope can be extended in several ways. First, LEM's predictions are restricted to students' affective, cognitive, and behavioral responses to a foreign TA on the first day of class. The model could be revised to study students' responses over time. For example, students' affective, cognitive, and behavioral responses could be measured three times in a semester (at the beginning, middle, and end) for two foreign TAs -- one who confirms students' expectations, and another who violates students' expectations. This will be very useful to track changes in student responses (if any) over time.

Second, the usefulness of LEM in explaining how students react to other types of teaching assistants could be studied. For example, do students react differently to female foreign TAs compared to male foreign TAs? How do students react to foreign TAs from countries in Europe that were under Soviet rule till recently (for example, former East Germany, Poland, etc.)? These foreign TAs do not look "foreign," but have accents that may not be easy to understand. Also, how do students react to teaching assistants who are Native American, African American, or Hispanic?

On the other hand, does the ethnicity of the student make a difference in their reactions to a foreign TA? Do Hispanics, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and international students react differently to foreign TAs compared to Anglo students? Is there a difference between male and female students among these different ethnic groups to a foreign TA?

Third, the LEM could be applied to other contexts. For example, many of the doctors today in general practice in the U.S.A. are from countries other than the U.S.A. There is anecdotal evidence that patients refuse to be attended by doctors whose names look "foreign," or after the doctor walks into the waiting room. This doctor-patient interaction is similar to the foreign TA-student interaction in many ways. The doctor and the foreign TA are: (a) providing a service, health care and education, (b) from outside the U.S., and likely to have accents different from the accents common in the U.S., and (c) generally highly competent in what they do. The student and the patient, on the other hand: (a) have to pay a significant amount of money to receive the service, (b) are not familiar with new and different accents, and (c) may not be aware that the service provider is very competent.

Concluding Remarks

This study began with a personal interest to see why students often evaluate their foreign TAs poorly. There was enough research predicting that if we only took care of the foreign TAs language skills, the "Oh No! Syndrome" would go away.

After more than ten years of research, it is clear that training only the foreign TAs will noc suffice.

As an initial step to support the argument that the Oh No! Syndrome is at least a two-way process (including both foreign TAs and students), this study offered the Language Expectation Model to explain the students' affective, cognitive, and behavioral processes when they encounter a foreign TA on the first day of class. As this study indicates, there is a lot of work yet to be done.

With more research and training of both the students and the foreign TAs, this researcher hopes to see the day when Sugmin (our friend from beginning of the study) walks into a class, and the students unanimously say, "Wow! a TA from Taiwan. We are so lucky!"

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Table 1

An expectation by situational informational interactional model of social judgment

Prior Expectation	Current Situational Information: WEAK	Current Situational Information: STRONG
LOW	Cell 1: Refrain from social judgment or social judgment made with low confidence	Cell 3: Social judgment highly influenced by current situational information
HIGH	Cell 2: Social judgment highly influenced by prior expectation	Cell 4: Case 1: Both prior expectation and current situational information imply similar social judgment -- social judgment made with high confidence Case 2: Prior expectation and current situational information imply different judgments -- cognitive dilemma

Table 2

Descriptive data on experimental variables

Variable	Mean	SD	Reliability
Language Expectation of foreign TAs (2)	3.31	1.05	.74
Negative Emotions (6)	2.25	1.03	.88
Positive Emotions (6)	2.09	.85	.86
Confirmed Expectations (2)	2.84	1.54	.93
Violated Expectations (2)	3.01	1.35	.90
Foreign TA's Task Competence (5)	3.18	.78	.77
Foreign TA's Relational Competence (5)	2.98	.82	.75
Foreign TA's Communication Competence (6)	3.19	.99	.84
Foreign TA's Competence on All Three Dimensions (16)	3.12	.73	.89
Drop this Class (1)	2.67	1.33	--
Subtyping (1)	3.17	.98	--
Classes with Foreign TAs in the Future (1)	2.95	1.25	--

Note: N=330; SD=Standard Deviation; Reliability=Alpha; Numbers within parentheses indicate the number of questions measuring the variable.

Table 3

Cell means for negative emotions by confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations

	Strength of expectations	
	Strong	Weak
Expectations		
Violated	1.86 (91) -2	1.91 (64) -1
Confirmed	2.87 (79) 2	2.32 (74) 1

Note: Numbers in parentheses reflect number of students. Numbers below parentheses indicate contrasts used to test the hypothesis specifically.

Table 4

Cell means for positive emotions by confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations

	Strength of expectations	
	Strong	Weak
Expectations		
Violated	2.05 (91)	2.09 (65)
Confirmed	1.81 (79)	2.47 (74)

Note: Numbers in parentheses reflect number of students.

Table 5

Cell means for foreign TA evaluation by confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations

	Strength of expectations	
	Strong	Weak
Expectations		
Violated	3.41 (90) 2	3.51 (68) 1
Confirmed	2.59 (77) -2	3.00 (75) -1

Note: Numbers in parentheses reflect number of students. Numbers below parentheses indicate contrasts used to test hypothesis specifically.

Table 6

Cell means for foreign TA evaluation on task competence by confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations

	Strength of expectations	
	Strong	Weak
Expectations		
Violated	3.25 (92) 2	3.44 (68) 2
Confirmed	2.89 (77) -3	3.24 (78) -1

Note: Numbers in parentheses reflect number of students. Numbers below parentheses indicate contrasts used to test hypothesis specifically.

Table 7

Cell means for foreign TA evaluation on communication competence by confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations

	Strength of expectations	
	Strong	Weak
Expectations		
Violated	3.89 (93) 2	3.91 (69) 2
Confirmed	2.25 (77) -3	2.69 (76) -1

Note: Numbers in parentheses reflect number of students. Numbers below parentheses indicate contrasts used to test hypothesis specifically.

Table 8

Cell means for subtyping by confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations

	Strength of expectations	
	Strong	Weak
Expectations		
Violated	2.95 (92) 2	2.84 (67) 0
Confirmed	2.64 (78) -1	2.91 (75) -1

Note: Numbers in parentheses reflect number of students. Numbers below parentheses indicate contrasts used to test hypothesis specifically.

Table 9

Cell means for task, relational, and communication competence by confirmation of expectations

	Competence		
	Task	Relational	Communication
Expectations			
Violated	3.33 (159)	3.04 (159)	3.90 (159)
Confirmed	3.05 (156)	2.90 (156)	2.45 (156)

Note: Numbers in parentheses reflect number of students.

Table 10

Cell means for dropping the class by confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations

	Strength of expectations	
	Strong	Weak
Expectations		
Violated	2.87 (92) -2	2.99 (68) -1
Confirmed	3.97 (78) 2	3.51 (76) 1

Note: Numbers in parentheses reflect number of students. Numbers below parentheses indicate contrasts used to test hypothesis specifically.

Table 11

Cell means for taking a class with a foreign TA in the future by confirmation of expectations and strength of expectations

	Strength of expectations	
	Strong	Weak
Expectations		
Violated	3.10 (91) 0	2.46 (68) -2
Confirmed	3.62 (78) 1	2.91 (76) 1

Note: Numbers in parentheses reflect number of students. Numbers below parentheses indicate contrasts used to test hypothesis specifically.

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Langauge Expectation Model - Confirmed versus violated expectations of foreign TAs' language skills.

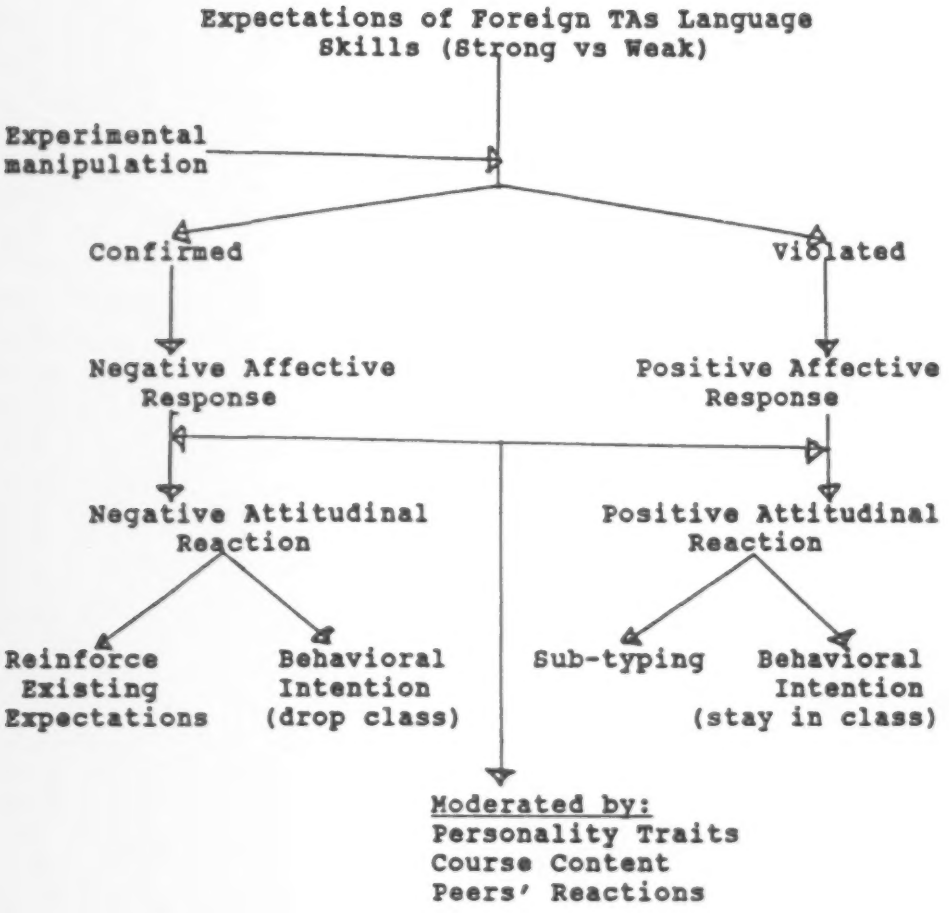
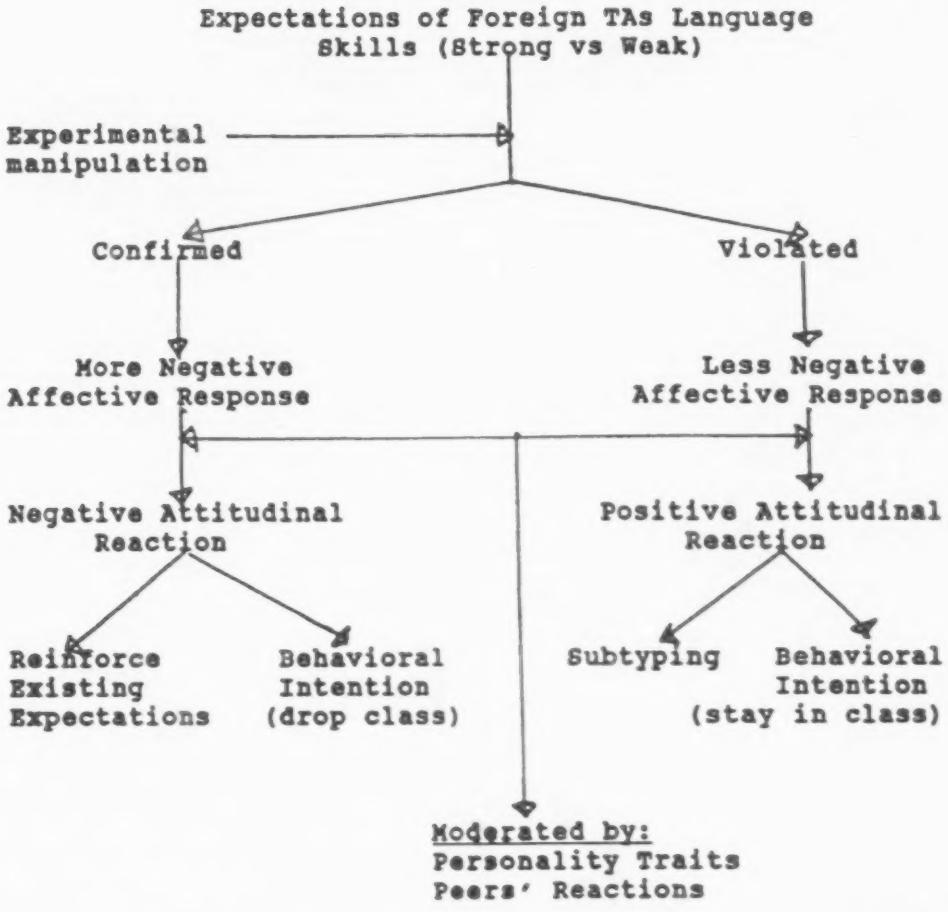


Figure 3: Language Expectation Model - Expectations of foreign TAs' Language Skills

Figure Caption

Figure 2. Revised Langauge Expectation Model - Confirmed versus violated expectations of foreign TAs' language skills.


Expectations of Foreign TAs Language Skills (Strong vs Weak)
Experimental manipulation
Confirmed
Violated
More Negative Affective Response
Less Negative Affective Response
Negative Attitudinal Reaction
Positive Attitudinal Reaction
Reinforce Existing Expectations
Behavioral Intention (drop class)
Subtyping
Behavioral Intention (stay in class)
Moderated by:
Personality Traits
Peers' Reactions